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ABSTRACT

Historically, responsibility for career education and guidance in English schools was shared between the school and an external careers service. The Education Act 2011 transferred responsibility for career guidance to schools and has created a need for the new role of a 'careers leader'. In this article, we report on research in 27 English state schools and multi-academy trusts where careers leadership currently exists. This research provides empirical support for a typology of careers leadership tasks and shows that the way in which these tasks are organised varies, with five models of careers leadership evident. The advantages and potential challenges of each model are outlined and implications for the training and professional development of careers leaders are discussed.

Introduction

Careers work in schools plays a critical role in helping young people to make a successful transition from school to further study or work, and to develop their skills for participating in the labour and learning markets (career management skills). There are a range of ways in which career education and guidance can be organised. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) review of career guidance (2004) highlighted that careers provision across OECD countries could be characterised as school-based, externally delivered or delivered through a partnership between the school and an external body. More recent comparative work has highlighted the continued diversity of international careers provision although there is some evidence that partnership models are being eroded (Hohenshill, Amundson, & Niles, 2013; Hooley, Watts, & Andrews, 2015; Sultana, 2017). Inevitably, international models of career education and guidance and related activities like school counselling reflect local conditions and need to be transferred carefully from one context to another. Nonetheless there are still useful lessons to be learnt from the case study of England.

For almost forty years England adopted a partnership approach, where responsibility was shared between the school and a national career guidance service delivered locally (Andrews, 2011). A change in policy has resulted in a move to a new, school-commissioning model (Watts, 2013). Schools have retained the role of providing career information and career education, and have been given a new statutory duty to secure access to career guidance for their pupils. While schools now have full responsibility for the whole programme, delivery is frequently still shared between the school itself and a range of external partners, including careers organisations and individual career advisers from which the school commissions career guidance services, employers, universities, colleges, training providers and various agencies offering career support activities.

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The Gatsby Charitable Foundation (2014) has established a framework for the delivery of career services in schools within this new policy environment. The "Gatsby Benchmarks" set out a framework of school-based careers provision which requires schools to establish a clear strategy and plan, and then to deliver a wide range of activities for students involving multiple stakeholders. Research by The Careers & Enterprise Company (2017) demonstrates that English schools are a long way from meeting these Benchmarks.

Andrews and Hooley (2017) have argued that the idea of "careers leadership" lies at the heart of efforts to develop English schools' capacity to delivery "good career guidance". They define careers leadership as the appointment or identification of a middle leader within a school with the account-ability for careers provision, the knowledge and skills to develop the programme and the authority to lead within the school and build partnerships beyond it. The careers leader is charged with fusing the contributions from staff within the school and the activities provided by external partners into a coherent career education and guidance programme. Andrews and Hooley go on to set out a theor-etical framework of 19 careers leadership tasks, categorised into leadership, management, co-ordina-tion and networking. However, this specification of careers leadership is largely theoretical. In this article, we explore the model through empirical research with 27 case studies of individual schools or multi-academy trusts (MATs are groups of schools with academy status that work together under common management). The aim of this paper is to offer a role specification for careers leader-ship, grounded in current practice in English schools.

An analysis of these 27 case studies reveals that while Andrews and Hooley's (2017) careers leader-ship tasks do provide a good description of careers leadership in schools, in practice schools get these tasks done in a range of ways. We have been able to enhance Andrews and Hooley's theoretical model by identifying five different models of careers leadership in schools. We present a discussion of the benefits and potential risks of each of the models, in terms of how they facilitate, or do not facilitate, successful leadership of careers work in schools, and we include some suggestions for establishing the range of professional development opportunities that are needed.

Background and context

The origins of the role of careers leaders in England can be traced back to the 1960s, when schools started to develop programmes of career information and education (Andrews, 2011). Up until that time, support for young people leaving school had been provided by youth employment officers who interviewed pupils individually in their final year at school. Once schools began to introduce career libraries and career lessons, they gave responsibility for careers to a member of staff who was almost always a teacher who took on the role as a post of additional responsibility. When the careers service was established in 1973, these careers teachers took on the further role of managing the partnership with the careers officer, making sure that he or she had somewhere to interview the pupils, a sche-dule of individuals to see and information about the pupils. As the partnership model evolved and as the schools developed their career programmes further, by getting more teachers and tutors involved in the delivery and building links with employers through introducing work experience, careers *teachers* became careers *co-ordinators* managing the various contributions into a coherent programme (McCrone et al., 2009). In many schools the post of careers co-ordinator was filled by a teacher but by the beginning of the 2000s a growing number of schools had appointed members of the non-teaching staff to the role.

The Education Act 2011 has brought about the biggest change in career support for young people in England in four decades (Watts, 2013). The national external career guidance service for young people that existed from 2001, Connexions, has been dismantled and responsibility for securing access to career guidance has been devolved to individual schools. This has added new leadership tasks to the role in school (Andrews & Hooley, 2017). In addition to providing career information, career education and partnership activities with employers and learning providers, the school now has to manage a commissioning process for the provision of career guidance, monitor access and

take up of guidance by pupils and assure the quality of the service(s) it purchases. Responsibility for the entire careers provision has been placed firmly with the school, resulting in an enhanced need for leadership at both strategic and operational levels.

From 2015 a new government funded agency has been introduced in the form of The Careers & Enterprise Company. In some ways this can be viewed as a new type of partnership body as it provides support for schools' career programmes including brokerage, access to employer volunteers, tools and funded career programmes. This has now been rolled out to about half of England's schools and seems to be working well (Pye Tait, 2017). However, the responsibility and accountability for provision continues to reside solely with the school, with The Careers & Enterprise Company in a supportive role rather than responsibility being shared as was the case with Connexions and its predecessors.

We are now in the sixth year of this new model of careers work in schools (Hughes, 2017). Schools have recognised the need to establish effective arrangements for the leadership of careers but have taken different approaches. There is growing interest in the role of careers leaders from a range of bodies. The professional body for careers professionals in the UK, the Career Development Institute, has published a briefing on careers leaders (CDI, 2017) and the charity Teach First is piloting a programme of professional development for careers leaders (Hooley, Dodd, & Shepherd, 2016) and has released a policy paper which advocates the formalisation of this role in England's schools (Teach First, 2017). This interest has culminated in a clear endorsement of the role by the government. The new strategy for careers in England states that by September 2018 every school should have a named careers leader and that funding will be made available to develop new training programmes for this enhanced role (Department for Education, 2017a). Subsequently this role has been illuminated further in a publication by The Careers & Enterprise Company and the Gatsby Charitable Foundation (2018).

Against this background we decided to test out Andrews and Hooley's framework for careers leadership by collecting case studies from a range of different schools. Our analysis of the various models should help to inform decisions in other schools about what arrangements would work best for them. We have also drawn on the case studies to make proposals for the provision of continuing professional development (CPD) that needs to be made available to support the different approaches to careers leadership in schools.

Method

Sample. This article is based on qualitative interviews conducted with 27 schools or MATs in England. A purposive sample of schools which had currently functioning models of careers leadership was built by contacting a range of informants who work with multiple schools (Enterprise Co-ordinators working for The Careers & Enterprise Company, local authority based advisers, consultants and awarding bodies for the Quality in Careers Standard). Palys (2008) has argued that purposive sampling is useful for exploring how opinions and phenomena differ across a range of different contexts. In Palys's terms, our sampling combined both variation sampling (looking for cases and contexts that were different from one another) and theory-guided sampling (using existing literature and expert advice to identify cases that we anticipated would have different approaches to careers leadership).

Based on recommendations provided by these informants, schools were purposively sampled for diversity to represent both a range of different types of schools and different models of careers leadership. The sample included 25 state schools with secondary-aged pupils in England (five local authority schools and 16 academies, the latter are English schools that are either self-governing or part of a chain of schools not governed by the local authority), seven with sixth forms (including pupils aged 16–18) and 14 without; a special school; a sixth form college; a city technology college; a pupil referral unit and two MATs. The sample size was determined by the principle of saturation with sampling ceasing once saturation had been reached. Mason's (2010) study on the saturation point of

qualitative data finds that on average qualitative studies report saturation at a similar sample size to that reported in this study.

Measurement. Semi-structured interviews were undertaken with the careers leader in each school or, for the MATs, the strategic lead for careers across the trust. Prior to the interview, the careers leader was asked to complete a short proforma to indicate their specific leadership roles. This was based on Andrews and Hooley's (2017) framework of leadership tasks, with minor modifications and one addition (see Figure 1). The three changes to the original framework were all made following experience of having used the framework in workshop sessions with careers leaders. They were: to remove the item on maintaining CPD, which workshop participants did not recognise as a leadership task; to separate the project management task of managing the work of the career adviser from the line management task of managing the career administrator; and to add a further networking task of managing the links with external organisations. The interviewees were asked to indicate how the various responsibilities of careers leadership were allocated to key personnel in the school, and their responses formed the basis of a detailed discussion during interviews, in order to gain a clear understanding of how the role of careers leader was organised.

In the interviews questions were asked about: the school context; the careers leader's specific responsibilities; line management, administrative support and links to the governing body; position in the management structure of the school; other roles; time allocation and salary grade; professional

Leadership
- Advising senior leadership on policy, strategy and resources for career education and guidance (CEG)
- Reporting to senior leaders and governors on CEG
- Reviewing and evaluating CEG
- Preparing and implementing a CEG development plan

Management
Project management
- Planning schemes of work for career education
- Briefing and supporting teachers of career education
- Monitoring teaching and learning in career education
- Supporting tutors providing initial information and advice
- Managing the work of the career adviser
- Monitoring access to, and take up of, guidance
Line management
- Managing the work of the career administrator

Co-ordination
- Managing the provision of career information
- Liaising with the Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) leader and other subject leaders to plan career education
- Liaising with tutorial managers, mentors, special education needs co-ordinator (SENCO) and head of sixth form to identify pupils needing guidance
- Referring pupils to career advisers

Networking
- Establishing and developing links with employers
- Establishing and developing links with further education (FE) colleges, apprenticeship providers and universities
- Negotiating a service level agreement with the local authority for support for vulnerable pupils
- Commissioning career guidance services
- Managing links with the local enterprise partnership (LEP) and other external organisations

Figure 1. Framework of careers leadership tasks.

background and career progression; recruitment, appointment and induction; training, qualifications and CPD; and benefits and challenges of the school's chosen approach to careers leadership. Detailed notes were taken on each interview. These notes were then coded thematically using both the careers leadership tasks as codes and an open coding approach. In analysing the data we paid particular attention to how the careers leadership tasks were allocated, organised, managed and delivered.

Research was conducted in accordance with the ethical principles set out by the British Education Research Association (2011) and UK legal guidelines on the collection and storage of data. Participants were briefed on the purpose of the project and the intended outputs. They were guaranteed anonymity and were sent a draft of our initial analysis, inviting comments. Following this input from participants we made a number of amendments to the analysis that follows.

Findings

Careers leadership tasks

The research broadly verified Andrews and Hooley's (2017) framework of careers leadership tasks. Careers leaders in the case study schools reported that this framework accurately reflected their responsibilities in practice. None of the tasks were redundant, although a few were not applicable in some of the schools. For example, a third of the schools had chosen not to commission career guidance services, opting instead to employ their own career adviser. In these instances the task of commissioning career guidance is not applicable but it was replaced by the task of recruiting and appointing a career adviser. Another example relates to the half of the sample that did not have a dedicated career administrator meaning that there was no member of support staff to line manage.

The interviews did, however, reveal a further leadership task that needs to be added to the framework. Although schools have been given extra responsibilities for career guidance, they have not been granted any additional funding. All the activities, including the provision of career guidance, have to be funded from within the school's overall budget. The case studies included several schools where the careers leader had successfully bid for project funding to support the development of their provision. Examples of organisations that made money available include the Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEPs), local authorities, the National Collaboration Outreach Programmes (to encourage progression on to higher education) and The Careers & Enterprise Company. This indicates an additional leadership task of securing possible sources of funding and preparing bids, which should be added to the "networking" category.

Models of careers leadership

The careers leadership tasks identified by Andrews and Hooley (2017) were present in practice in the schools which participated in this research. However, schools allocated these tasks in a range of different ways. The analysis revealed five main patterns of task allocation which suggested five models of careers leadership (see Table 1).

The figures in Table 1 relate to the 25 individual schools within the sample of 27 case studies. The taxonomy of five models was presented to the strategic leaders for careers in the two MATs that comprised the remaining case studies and both were able to assign the individual schools within their trust to one of the five models. This provides evidence that the classification applies in practice.

The most common approach is to combine all the tasks into a single post of careers leader. One or more of the tasks may be allocated to another member of staff, but essentially the model is to have a single role of careers leader. Examples of tasks that were not included in the careers leader role in some schools included responsibility for the post-16 career provision and higher education applications, which in schools with sixth forms may be given to the head of sixth form. In some schools it is considered more appropriate for the special educational needs co-ordinator (SENCO)

Table 1. Models of careers leadership.

Careers leadership model	Summary	Number of individual schools in which this was observed ($n = 25$)
1. Middle leader	A teacher, or non-teaching member of staff, is appointed to a middle leadership role, with line management support from a senior leader with overall responsibility for careers. The role is combined with other responsibilities, as a teacher, a non-teaching member of staff or a career adviser.	11
2. Senior leader	A member of the school's senior leadership, who may be a teacher or a non-teaching member of staff, is given direct responsibility for the leadership of careers. The role is combined with other responsibilities as a senior leader.	7
3. Outsourced leadership	The school contracts with an external organisation or individual to provide its careers leadership.	2
4. Distributed leadership	The tasks of careers leadership are shared between a group of senior and middle leaders working together as a team.	3
5. Multi-school leadership	One individual is the careers leader for more than one school.	2

to take responsibility for negotiating the service level agreement with the local authority for support for vulnerable young people. Some schools decide to manage the demands on the careers leader by devolving particular aspects of the role to other members of staff, for example, work experience and links with employers or access to career information. Furthermore, where the careers leader is not a teacher, the Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) leader may take the lead on planning the schemes of work for career education or monitoring teaching and learning in career lessons. Where the careers leader is a middle leader, a senior leader may take responsibility for commissioning the career guidance services.

Within the "single careers leader" model, however, there are variations that relate to the position of the careers leader and to professional background. In some schools the careers leader is positioned as a middle leader, with line management support from a senior leader who has overall responsibility for careers, while in others the careers leader role is a senior leader position. Some of the careers leaders, whether middle or senior leaders, are teachers while others are non-teaching members of staff. The latter can be individuals who have had management roles in previous positions, such as local authority officers or HR managers, or they may have previously held support staff roles and are then given opportunities to develop their management skills. Among the careers leaders who have come from backgrounds other than teachers are former career advisers: these individuals are always positioned as middle leaders and combine the careers leadership role with the role of internal career adviser. Finally, almost all careers leaders in this model combine their careers leadership role with other responsibilities, as middle or senior leaders, subject teachers or providers of career guidance. None of the participating schools had a full-time careers leader whose only job was career leadership.

Model 1 (Middle leader). The most common model of careers leadership was to assign the role to a middle leader. In most cases this middle leader was line managed and supported by a senior leader in the school who was able to contribute to strategy and provide back up to the middle leader where this was needed to implement a career programme. Where this senior leadership support is not evident, middle careers leaders can struggle to drive school level change and successfully fulfil the coordination tasks which are part of the role. A related issue is to ensure that the careers leader is part of the middle leaders' meetings and not isolated from decision-making forums such as the heads of department and pastoral leaders' groupings.

This approach offers schools the advantage of a dedicated role with oversight of all aspects of the programme. It is also usually easier to identify regular time for middle leaders to discharge this role than it is to find equivalent time for senior leaders. However, vesting all responsibility in a single individual also opens up some potential dangers. One danger is that the role can become burdened by administrative and delivery tasks, resulting in insufficient time to devote to leadership tasks. This can

be addressed through the provision of administrative support and through ensuring that the careers leader is not the sole individual tasked with actually delivering the programme.

Another potential risk of vesting all responsibility in a single individual is the need to plan for succession and manage transition to a new careers leader. Schools need to build sustainability into the leadership arrangements. When an aspect of the school's work relies so heavily on one individual there is a risk that the programme suffers if that individual is not available or moves on to a new role. This presents a challenge to maintaining a stable career programme as defined in the first of the eight Gatsby benchmarks. The time available for careers work is limited and schools do not want to be burdened with unnecessarily bureaucratic systems and procedures, but appropriate measures such as policy statements, strategic plans and staff handbooks can support both sustainability and coherence, and can prove invaluable when planning for succession.

Model 2 (senior leader). Having a senior leader as the single careers leader brings a similar set of advantages to having a middle careers leader. It also offers the advantage of ensuring that career education and guidance benefits from senior leadership attention. The added authority brought by a senior leader can also make it easier to achieve whole school changes and to engage staff from across the school in the career programme. The main challenge comes from the fact that careers leaders who are senior leaders typically have several other senior leadership responsibilities, and so have less time to devote to the careers leadership tasks. Schools that have recognised this challenge have overcome the problem by developing an assistant to the careers leader, thereby almost moving to the "middle leader with senior leader support" model, or by introducing a distributed leadership model.

Model 3 (outsourced leadership). In all cases where the careers leader is a middle leader or senior leader they are employed directly by the school. However, in the third model the school buys in an external professional to run its career programme. We found this model in two of the participating schools. In both cases the school contracted with a qualified career adviser to take on the career leader role. In one of these schools the careers leader ran a small business providing career guidance services and the school bought in one of his colleagues to provide career guidance to pupils. The careers leader in the other school operated as a sole trader and the service that the school commissioned from her combined both career guidance for pupils and careers leadership. The two individuals were not in school all week: both schools purchased two days a week of their time to provide careers leadership. Outsourcing careers leadership, to an external organisation or individual, has the advantage of buying in relevant expertise and dedicated support but unless the school makes the position full-time, which is unlikely, it means that the careers leader is not in school all the time. This presents challenges for communication with other members of staff. A further potential risk of this model is that careers could be seen as something separate from the rest of the school, with the careers leader not integrated into the school's management structure and therefore having limited capacity to work with other middle and senior leaders.

Model 4 (distributed leadership). We also identified examples of "distributed leadership", where the tasks of leading and managing the school's careers programme are divided between several members of staff working together as a team. In one example, strategic leadership was provided by a deputy headteacher and the day-to-day operational leadership and management of the careers programme was divided between three members of staff. The head of sixth form, a senior assistant head, was responsible for the career programme for Level 3 students in the sixth form (16-to-18-year-olds on the academic track); the work-related learning co-ordinator, a member of the non-teaching staff with experience of working in industry, led the programme for Level 1 and Level 2 students in the sixth form (16-to-18-year-olds not on the academic track); the performance leader, who was a teacher and a senior middle leader, was responsible for the career provision for students aged 11–16. Another school was establishing a similar approach, but organised it differently. A senior leader, who also had a 0.5 teaching timetable, had been doing the job on her own but had come to realise that she needed support to develop the career programme in the way the school wished, if she were to fulfil her other senior leadership responsibilities as well. The school had

identified three middle leaders who will take on responsibility for different aspects of the careers leadership role, but precisely how these will be allocated was yet to be determined.

The best developed example of distributed leadership for careers is seen in a third school. A senior leader provided strategic leadership and combined this role with being the school's business manager. Operational leadership was provided by a middle leader, who was a maths teacher, and the school had also created 17 sector leader roles. The sector leaders were all teachers, each linked to one of the growth areas in the local economy. Their role was to work collaboratively with employers to develop sector-relevant projects in the curriculum.

Distributing the leadership of careers among several senior and middle leaders increases the available capacity and enables the school to utilise the different expertise of a number of members of staff. It also provides for better continuity of support to pupils if one individual moves on. The challenge is to ensure that appropriate management structures are established to facilitate communication and ensure coherence. Delivery of career programmes is shared by a wide range of school staff and external partners and if the leadership is also to be shared across several individuals the school needs to establish systems to enable those individuals to work together effectively, both to avoid duplication and overlap and to prevent gaps appearing or activities not being appropriately sequenced. It is possible that more schools will consider adopting this model. When we sent our draft analysis back to the case studies we picked up evidence that at least one school that currently has a single post of middle leader had started to move towards a distributed leadership model, with a senior leader having strategic leadership and two middle leaders sharing the operational leadership.

Model 5: Multi-school leadership. Lastly, we identified a model where one individual is given responsibility for careers leadership in more than one school. In one of the two examples among our case studies, a non-teaching senior leader provided careers leadership in her own school, a city technology college (CTC), and also in a nearby academy that the CTC sponsors. She manages this arrangement by leading a team of three career advisers who were deployed across the two schools and by meeting once a week with a deputy head in the academy. In the other example, a middle leader based in the MAT central team was the careers leader for two of the three schools in the trust. In both schools members of staff work under her direction and she meets regularly with members of the senior leader team. Sharing a careers leader across more than one school could be viewed as a variation of outsourcing, in so much that it presents similar risks that arise from not being in the schools full-time. Such potential problems can be avoided, however, by regular communication with senior leaders in the school and having other staff with operational roles based in the individual schools, and the model does bring the benefits of sharing practice and efficient use of management resources. This approach is particularly relevant in an educational landscape where schools are being encouraged to organise themselves into trusts and federations. The value of sharing resources around the leadership of careers within such arrangements is obvious but further examples of this practice need to be examined to provide clear insights on the strengths and weaknesses of the model.

The role of careers leader for multiple institutions needs to be distinguished from wider forms of overseeing and support that are organised at a trust level. Trusts (formal groupings of schools) are now responsible for 36% of England's secondary schools (Full Fact, 2017). Seven schools that participated in the research were part of academy trusts that had established trust-wide posts to provide strategic leadership for careers in all their schools, in addition to having careers leaders in each of the schools. While these trust-wide roles tend to focus their work on the secondary academies, some are working with the primary academies as well. In some trusts, the strategic leader for careers works as a careers leader in one of the academies, and then is given time to work with the careers leaders in all the other academies in the trust, while in others the individual is located within the central trust team. With one exception, all trust-wide careers leadership posts in our case studies were permanent positions. The remaining post was a temporary, one-year appointment to support the establishment of careers leaders in the trust's two secondary academies.

One of the senior leaders we interviewed suggested that someone working at the MAT level would have greater capacity for the more outward-facing, networking aspects of careers leadership such as developing external partnerships, thereby releasing time for the careers leaders in the individual schools to focus on the internal project management and co-ordination functions. This would be particularly helpful when the school careers leaders were teachers with a substantial teaching commitment.

In many respects, these trust-wide roles are similar to the advisory roles for career education and guidance that existed previously in local authorities and Connexions services (Andrews, 2011) in that they play a middle tier role, sitting between policy and practice as well as facilitating the transfer of knowledge and practice around the trust. They differ in one crucial respect however. While the advisers, advisory teachers and development managers could only provide information, advice and consultancy support, these new roles are located within the management structure of the MATs and therefore are in a position to direct the work in the individual schools that make up the trusts.

Discussion

The conditions for successful careers leadership

Participants in the study highlighted a range of barriers and enablers to effective careers leadership. These suggested that any of the models of careers leadership described earlier could be made to work, but that some posed more challenges than others. In this section, we discuss the key conditions that need to exist to allow careers leadership to work effectively.

Clarity of role(s). The first condition for success is clarity about the role. The careers leaders and any other key staff (particularly in the distributed model) need to be clear about what is expected of them. The senior leadership of the school needs to have the same clarity about the job and all members of staff with whom the careers leader works on the programme need to be aware of the role and its implications for their own contributions to the programme. The careers leaders we spoke to all had job descriptions, but they did not always reflect accurately their actual role in practice and had not necessarily been updated as the role had evolved over time.

Authority and power. The second condition is the individual's capacity to influence the development of strategy and the authority to implement the programme. While their personality, passion for the job and professionalism were critical, their capacity to drive change and lead the school's career programme were also dependent on their relative power within the school. Law and Watts (2014) have highlighted that the development and management of a career education and guidance programme within a school is strongly dependent on the power relations within and without the school. In this research we found that the institutional authority and networks of the careers leader were critical. Careers leadership is most effective where the careers leader has a clearly-defined management relationship with the senior leadership, is enabled to work alongside other middle leaders and has a direct link with the governing body.

Evidence from our case studies indicates that schools are less certain about where in their management structure to place careers leaders who are not teachers, and this is particularly true when the careers leader is external to the school's staffing. We also found evidence that schools vary considerably in relation to the salary grade on which they place non-teaching careers leaders: the pay varies from a level commensurate with teachers who have similar management roles to a level that is more equivalent to a member of the support staff with no leadership responsibilities. The career progression pathway for non-teaching members of staff in schools is not nearly as well defined as that which is in place for teachers.

These variations in structures, professional role and salary undergird and interact with more subtle differences in power. This is problematic as the concept of "leadership" requires the individual who is tasked with leading the programme to have sufficient power to enact change. For example, careers leaders in the study reported presenting strategic proposals to senior leaders and governors; working

in partnership with other middle leaders and heads of department, pastoral managers and SENCOs; and directing and supporting teachers and tutors. These kinds of functions to which we ascribe the term "programmatic leadership" are distinct from co-ordination of resources which is less dependent on the power of the careers leader. Some schools outside of our study have yet to embrace the concept of careers leadership, still continuing with an approach that involves only a series of talks, events and interviews, often co-ordinated by a member of the support staff. In our view this is careers co-ordination rather than careers leadership.

Time and resources. Many of the careers leaders we interviewed identified the time available to fulfil the responsibilities as a critical factor. Everyone we spoke to was doing the job alongside other responsibilities: senior leaders had other senior leadership roles; middle leaders had a teaching commitment or other roles in the school. We acknowledge that everyone working in schools could do with more time and resources to ensure that they do their jobs well and that this is particularly the case when school budgets are under pressure as they are at present (Marsh & Adams, 2017). However, respondents were clear that careers leadership required a substantial allocation of time (measured in days rather than periods per week) and that if they were going to successfully fulfil the leadership element of their role they needed some administrative support for the more routine tasks such as: maintaining the careers information resources, booking appointments for careers interviews, arranging information evenings and careers fairs, and dealing with the paperwork associated with work experience. Where the careers leader was expected also to provide advice and guidance to individual pupils it was important that the time allowed for this was not taken from the time allocated for leadership.

Expertise. Another condition for success is the expertise of the careers leader. The tasks of careers leadership require a level of expertise in both careers education and guidance and in leadership and management. The careers leaders we interviewed had come into their posts from a variety of backgrounds, with different areas of expertise and had developed their expertise through a variety of professional development strategies. This finding has implications for the development of training programmes for the role. Programmes need to be sufficiently flexible to allow for prior experience and accommodate different learning needs.

Developing careers leadership

At the heart of this discussion about careers leadership is an individual, or small group of staff members, taking on a role which remains relatively new to English schools. As Andrews and Hooley (2017) argued, no one begins their career as a careers leader and a great many individuals fall into the role without any training or preparation. While most leadership roles in schools have a logical progression from early career (e.g. maths teachers becoming head of maths), this is not the case for careers leaders. It is therefore important to think about how people can be introduced to this role, prepared for it and supported while they are in it.

Induction and training. In our interviews with the careers leaders we asked about their experience of induction and training for the role. All the careers leaders had moved into the role from another job and they all needed some form of induction, support or training, to help them take on their new role of careers leader. Their training needs varied depending on their prior experience. Teachers were competent and confident in planning schemes of work but needed help with getting up to date with career education and guidance policy and practice. Further, if they had not previously held a leadership position, they needed advice on preparing strategic plans and managing programmes and staff colleagues. Conversely, careers leaders who had trained as career advisers had a good understanding of career education and guidance but needed help with planning lessons and working with different curricular subjects. Newly appointed careers leaders from backgrounds other than teaching needed help to understand how schools operate, but in some cases they brought valuable experience of management from other settings.

Four of the careers leaders had received the help and support they needed by attending short courses, while another eight had completed longer, accredited training programmes, either at a

university offering certificate or diploma or via competency-based qualifications. Other careers leaders had sought information and advice from advisory personnel in local authorities and Connexions, independent consultants or other, more experienced careers leaders, and eight had researched information from relevant documents and websites.

Continuing professional development. The variety of different forms of CPD that the careers leaders in the case studies had taken led us to conclude that a range of CPD opportunities need to be made available. We suggest there should be short, possibly only one-day, introductory courses for careers leaders new to the role plus longer programmes, of perhaps four-to-six days spread over a period of several months, to provide more in-depth professional development for careers leadership. The latter programmes should be modular in nature, possibly with a common core and optional units, to allow for the different prior experience, knowledge and skills of individuals who take on the role of careers leader in schools. It may also be useful to offer some form of accreditation or to build such courses into wider programmes of learning. A few of the careers leaders said they would have liked to have taken a course of relevant CPD but they were not aware of what was available.

Current provision of CPD for careers leadership in England includes some short, introductory courses provided by the professional body, local authorities, careers companies and private providers, and a few more sustained programmes. There are only one or two courses available in universities (Canterbury Christ Church University[1]; University of Derby[2]); there is one competency-based qualification, the Certificate in Careers Leadership[3]; and Teach First is scaling up a careers and employability leadership programme (Hooley et al., 2016; Teach First, 2017). The market would need to be stimulated by government funding if careers leadership is going to be embedded across all schools rather than just a small minority as appears to currently be the case. Teach First has also suggested that a higher apprenticeship qualification could be developed. This might suit the preferred approach to learning of some careers leaders and would provide an opportunity for schools to offset the apprenticeship levy they are now required to pay (Department for Education, 2017b). A related point would be the introduction of a framework for the accreditation of prior learning for those individuals who have been undertaking this role for a while and who now wished to have their professionalism recognised.

The National College for Teaching and Leadership in England administers a programme of national professional qualifications, including the National Professional Qualification for Middle Leadership (NPQML) and the National Professional Qualification for Senior Leadership (NPQSL). Two of the careers leaders in our case studies had completed the NPQSL and both had chosen to focus on careers issues for one of their assignments, suggesting that this might be another route through which training and CPD could be organised. The recently revised NPQML (Department for Education, 2017c) has been designed to develop the skills, knowledge and behaviours needed to be a high-performing middle leader in schools and so provides another route from which careers leaders, particularly those with a teaching qualification, could access relevant CPD for the role.

Since completing the research reported here, but prior to the publication of this paper, the government has announced, in its careers strategy for England, that it will provide a nationally-funded training programme for careers leaders in schools and colleges. Up to 500 places will be supported over a two-year period from September 2018.

Communities of practice. The careers leader role is one of the most highly networked roles in the school. It involves working with many different members of staff within the school and a large number of individuals and organisations beyond the school. Yet, at the same time, it can be quite an isolated role: there is no other obvious colleague with whom to share practice. Almost all of our interviewees mentioned the importance of meeting careers leaders working in other schools and exchanging experiences and ideas. The development of communities of practice therefore needs to be seen as a key part of the CPD for careers leaders.

The career development of careers leaders. An issue that we touched on in some of our interviews was progression from the role of careers leader. Participants felt that the role of careers leader

provided good experience for progression on to more senior leadership roles in schools, but reported that it was often hard to get others to understand this. Two individuals reported that they had applied for deputy headship roles and sought to use their experience of careers leadership to provide evidence of their capability. However, feedback from selection interviews indicates that this has yet to be fully accepted by headteachers and governing bodies. This returns to the issue of the power and status of the role within schools and is likely to require some further awareness raising and advocacy to help to shift perceptions about what the role involves.

Conclusion

Now that responsibility for career education and guidance for young people in England sits firmly and exclusively with schools, there is a growing understanding that this will require clear and effective leadership. Different models of careers leadership are emerging, each with their advantages and challenges, and the need for access to CPD is being understood. Recent changes in the organisation of the school system in England have led to a much greater degree of school autonomy with schools now devising a range of ways to determine how best to lead and manage their career education and guidance. This study provides some insights into how this is being done and what factors are associated with successful careers leadership. It also provides some insights for those involved in training careers leaders and for policymakers. We believe that the data presented here shows that careers leadership is a viable and effective part of ensuring "good career guidance" for young people in schools. The key task is now to spread careers leadership more widely, to build communities of practice, and to ensure that schools are able to learn from each others' experience as careers leadership becomes more embedded in the school system in England.

Notes

1. https://www.canterbury.ac.uk/study-here/courses/postgraduate/understanding-careers-education-and-guidance.aspx
2. https://www.derby.ac.uk/research/icegs/courses/ma-education-careers-learning-pathway/
3. http://www.thecdi.net/Certificate-in-Careers-Leadership

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